Gazette of the United States.

No. XIII. From SATURDAY, MAY 23, to WEDNESDAY, MAY 27, 1789. PRICE SIX PENCE.

[☞ We are happy to lay before our readers the ſentiments contained in the following No. of the TABLET, on the buſineſs of Smuggling, or defrauding Government of the Revenue—and doubt not their meeting the approbation of every friend to the United States.]

THE TABLET.——No. XIII.

"There is no kind of diſhoneſty into which good people "more eaſily and frequently fall, than that of de- "frauding government of its revenues by ſmug- "gling, or encouraging ſmugglers by buying their "goods."

WHEN a nation is beginning its political exiſtence, it has the ſame occaſion to form good habits, as an individual when he is entering into life. It is not only requiſite, that ſuitable laws ſhould be enacted, and enforced with penalties; but it will have an admirable effect, if the people will enter into aſſociations and take meaſures among themſelves, for co-operating with the views of government. By manifeſting their zeal and patriotiſm in this way, they may produce a moral controul over the actions of men, and lead them into a diſpoſition to obſerve legal inſtitutions. The inefficacy of aſſociations will be urged as an argument againſt ſuch an experiment. But one ſhould not decide too haſtily in this matter. If the execution of the laws reſted *wholly* on that footing, their operation would be feeble indeed; ſo on the other hand, where obedience is expected *only* by the rigor of penalties, the law will be evaded, and its object defeated. It is of importance that government ſhould engage different paſſions of the human mind, in its ſervice. Fear of puniſhment is one very powerful reſtraint from diſobedience. But it will not do alone.—Men, who pretend that an appeal to the fears of people is the beſt, or the only method of making them virtuous citizens, muſt either be ignorant of human nature, or take a pleaſure in degrading it. In a free government, and more eſpecially in its firſt organization, no individual will have reaſon to fear the laws, unleſs the bulk of the people love and regard them. When a man can violate a law without any compunction of conſcience, or injury to his character, there is nothing more certain, than that he can elude puniſhment. If he ſaves his character, he preſerves his friends, and does not counteract the wiſhes of the community. There are ſo many, who are tacitly his accomplices, that it is difficult to find unbiaſſed teſtimony, for ſupporting a proſecution.

It will be alledged, that men, who have principle enough to aſſociate in favour of collecting the revenue, will be honeſt enough to oppoſe ſmuggling, without any ſuch aſſociation. There is ſome fallacy, I think, in ſuch a ſuggeſtion. Many people annex the idea of infamy to the diſcoverer of a fraud, committed on the public revenue. This will prevent many perſons, who are diſpoſed to pay the duties punctually, from complaining of others, whom they know to be diſhoneſt in this reſpect. It is evident, that if a number of worthy perſons entered into an agreement to diſcountenance ſmuggling, the objection of infamy againſt informing, would be removed. If no other reaſon could be aſſigned for aſſociating *againſt* ſmugglers; this would be a ſtriking one, that ſuch a meaſure would check confederacies *in favour* of ſmuggling. The principal complaint againſt voluntary combinations is, that their force and obſervance are of ſhort duration. It is unqueſtionably true, that they have a temporary effect, in favor of the object intended. In the preſent inſtance nothing more is required. If the laws can have a favorable introduction, they will derive ſome energy from that very circumſtance. The power of habit is univerſally felt and acknowledged. It has even a ſtronger influence, in producing obedience to the laws, than a fear of puniſhment, where the penalties are rigorous, and exactly inflicted. Both theſe cauſes united give a peculiar efficacy to government. They will, by their natural progreſs, create that additional tie, that is impoſed by a ſenſe of duty, and a regard to character.

Why have mankind in general diſcovered a ſtronger inclination to defraud the public, than individuals? It is probably owing in ſome degree, to their being able to do it, with leſs ſting of conſcience and leſs loſs of reputation. But why do not the character and the conſcience of a man require him to be honeſt to the public, as well as to individuals? It is, no doubt, becauſe people have not been accuſtomed to feel ſo ſtrong an obligation in the one caſe, as the other. But why do we practically make this diſtinction, when there is no intrinſic difference? The moſt obvious reaſon is, that men in the common intercourſe of life find a greater inconvenience, in countenancing diſhoneſty in private, than in public tranſactions. This circumſtance induces a common conſent, in favor of the practice of private juſtice; and fixes a ſtigma upon the violators of it. It ſeems then that common conſent, or to give it another name, public opinion is one powerful tie, that holds men to their private duty. The ſame cauſe, did it equally exiſt in public affairs, would operate no leſs powerfully. It muſt have an exiſtence, before it can have an application or an effect.

Has the public opinion, in times paſt, been in favor of rendering to government, what was due to it? In many inſtances the reverſe has been the caſe, and people have, without any feelings of ſhame or remorſe, evaded public obligations. If goverment has been generally defrauded, the fact itſelf proves, that the common conſent of mankind was not witheld from it: For had the public mind been oppoſed to the fraud, it could not well have happened, or at any rate, would have been detected and puniſhed. It requires a conſiderable degree of force to counteract the current of popular ſentiment. Few violators of the rules of private honor and juſtice eſcape reproach, if they do puniſhment.

There is no natural propenſity in merchants to defraud the public of its revenues, any more than there is to deceive their cuſtomers, in the weight and meaſure of goods. The reaſon, as was before ſuggeſted, why they are honeſt in one caſe and not in the other, is that their reputation, their intereſt and their conſcience do not equally require it, in both caſes. One feels a confidence that his banker, though he is not ſtrictly watched, will render an exact account of the caſh committed to his care. Government would have the ſame ſecurity, that juſtice would take place in public affairs, if the habits and feelings of the people were equally favorable to public honeſty. The trader durſt not impoſe on his cuſtomers, if he wiſhed to do ſo, becauſe he knows he will ſuſtain a greater inconvenience, in the loſs of cuſtom, than he gains benefit, by a particular deception. I once more repeat, that if it would equally hurt his character to cheat or injure the public, he would be equally reſtrained from doing it.

As the influence of public opinion is known to be ſo forcible; and as the honor and proſperity of our country require, that the laws and regulations ſhould have a good beginning, it is worth while to beſtow ſome pains, in prediſpoſing the people to give their aid and countenance, in carrying into effect the meaſures of government. Many perſons pretend that ſuch a determination already exiſts. It ſeems not to be queſtioned, even by any refractory individual, but that a revenue muſt be raiſed, and that it muſt proceed from impoſts and exciſes. The current of opinion, it will be ſaid, is now ſufficiently in favor of ſuch a ſyſtem. But let us not be deceived. Thoſe, who ſet their hearts at reſt, in this ſtage of the buſineſs, are in a deluſion. The public diſcernment has ſuggeſted the eligibility of an impoſt; but ſtill the public temper is not ſufficiently rouſed into indignation againſt ſmugglers, and other defrauders.—Men may be led by reflection to judge with propriety of a meaſure, before they feel a diſpoſition to exert themſelves, in favor of its execution. In ſome caſes, a change of principles precedes a change of manners; and men think of a ſubject a great while, before they act upon it, at all. The firſt difficulty is ſurmounted. We are in a right way of thinking; and it only remains, that we take an honeſt, ſpirited way of acting. Let us not only give the laws a kind reception, but ſuffer them, and even aid them to proceed, with vigor and ſucceſs.

When the ſyſtem is ripened into a proper ſtate of maturity, the temptation to defraud the public treaſury will become weaker and weaker. Our oppoſition to the collection of impoſt under the Britiſh government, was occaſioned in part, by circumſtances reſulting from the caſe, and which no longer have an exiſtence. Men do not tranſgreſs till they are often tempted; and they will not be tempted to do wrong, when the balance of motives is in favor of doing right. It ſhould be a leading object of legiſlative care to deſtroy, or rather counteract the temptation to fraud, by encreaſing the cauſes, that induce men to think, an honeſt conduct is the moſt eligible. In proportion, as men have been habituated to any vicious practice; or, as they will derive advantage by indulging the vice, ſhould the reſtraints be multiplied to prevent it. Before this can well be effected, it ſhould be known, what reaſons originally operated, in eſtabliſhing the habit; and whether the ſame cauſes ſtill continue. For it muſt be obſerved, that we do not always relinquiſh a practice, preciſely when the circumſtance, that led to it, is removed. Our having been accuſtomed to it, becomes of itſelf a reaſon for its continuance. If we apply theſe reaſonings to our preſent ſituation, with reſpect to the collection of the revenue, it will lead us into the following enquiry. What cauſes formerly induced us to connive at frauds on the public revenue? Are theſe cauſes now in operation?—We ſhall find they are not wholly taken away. The impoſitions were then unconſtitutional. That objection to the payment of the duties now ceaſes. But there are eſtabliſhed cauſes, that render the collection of public monies, in all ſituations, a little precarious and difficult. The origin of the evil is not to be traced to any natural deſire in men to cheat the government, merely for the ſake of cheating it. It reſults from temptations, that are ſuggeſted by the practicability and ſafety of the thing. Our deſire to gain advantages over the public treaſury is not counteracted, by ſo many cauſes, as reſtrain us from overeaching private perſons. The inclination of people to promote their own intereſt is the ſame, in both caſes. From this view of the ſubject, I hope the remarks, that have been offered in ſupport of aſſociations, in the preſent criſis of affairs, will not be deemed unintereſting or foreign from the point. I perſuade myſelf alſo, that a few obſervations, that will convey ſome hints to the Legiſlature reſpecting their proceedings, will not have too great an appearance of preſumption.

The penalties, annexed to revenue laws, ſhould be of ſuch a nature, as will fix a diſgrace upon the characters, on whom they are inflicted. There is an aptitude in certain puniſhments to reſtrain certain crimes. Great rigor does not produce the effect, that is propoſed. This is apt to mitigate the abhorrence againſt the offence, and ſoften it down into pity towards the offender. The human mind is ſo conſtituted, that different affections counteract each other. There is an habitual temper of revenge, in many minds, againſt government for its ſeverity. This can only be controuled by exciting, in an higher degree, a deteſtation againſt crimes. Exceſſive fines, long impriſonments, & ſevere corporeal puniſhments, indicate a very depraved ſtate of ſociety. The laws ſhould appeal to the feelings of men, in ſuch a manner as to induce a ſenſe of ſhame, for the conſequences of the puniſhment, no leſs than a lively fear of enduring the pains of it. This end may partly be promoted by ſtigmatizing offenders, in the ſtile of the laws, by epithets that imply odium and infamy. Men involuntarily aſſociate their ideas; and words, that have uſually conveyed an opprobious meaning, will continue to make ſimilar impreſſions. I do not entertain a doubt, that great utility may be derived, from couching the laws againſt ſmuggling, in a contemptuous language.

The defrauders of the public ſhould likewiſe be debarred, from holding any office, or performing any ſervice, that implied confidence or reſpect. Such an excluſion would ſtamp ideas of indignity on the public mind, againſt thoſe who evade the payment of duties. If they were prohibited from ſerving on jury; or if their oaths were rendered invalid, it would have great effect in reſtraining the practice of ſmuggling. The receivers of ſmuggled goods ſhould have a ſhare, in the diſgrace and puniſhment. Indeed the whole regulations, that relate to the collection of the revenue, ſhould carry the marks of legiſlative diſapprobation of every ſpecies of colluſion. The contempt of government, expreſſed in a pointed manner, will be more efficacious than its reſentment.

It would much contribute to excite general deriſion againſt public diſhoneſty, if the law ſhould direct a Regiſter to be publiſhed annually, containing the names of all, who had been detected in ſmuggling, or that any way adviſed or aided, in defrauding the revenue. The minds of men are differently wrought upon; and by diverſifying the puniſhment and frowns of government, the feelings of moſt people will be intereſted in obſerving the laws.

In my next number, the ſubject ſhall be reſumed and placed in another point of view.

EXTRACT FROM "AMERICAN ESSAYS."

On the SUBJECT *of* COMMERCE.

THE whale and cod fiſheries have been long in a declining ſtate; they are our natural, principal, and beſt nurſeries for ſeamen, and the moſt certain ſource and ſupport of our naval ſtrength; an object of the laſt importance to all commercial countries, and *in which the United States are all equally intereſted.*

That we could afford to underſell the French and Engliſh at every market, *ſuppoſing a trade for our cod-fiſh equally ſafe and free*, cannot be controverted. The Engliſh conſume very little of their Newfoundland fiſh, almoſt all being carried from America directly to other markets in Europe; and if, as is generally ſuppoſed, there is no friendſhip in trade among individuals of the

ſame nation, much leſs can it be expected among different nations, neceſſarily of oppoſite intereſts, and naturally jealous of each others proſperity and growing greatneſs; it is, therefore, clearly for the intereſt of France and England, for political as well as commercial purpoſes, ſecretly to foment and nouriſh, if poſſible, an eternal enmity between the United States of America and the *Barbary Powers*, and to ſhut us out from all direct intercourſe and communication with the immenſe trade of the Mediterranean; that they may check our growth, and continue the carriers of our fiſh, tobacco, wheat, naval ſtores, and other American produce; theſe probable difficulties, or intrigues, will require all our art, addreſs and management effectually to counteract. The trade of the Mediterranean, and of thoſe countries bordering thereon, is of vaſt importance to the United States, perhaps not inferior to any other object that now preſents; *Italy* is a vaſt and fertile field for commercial ſpeculations, ſuppoſed to contain at leaſt twenty millions of inhabitants; the French and Engliſh know by long experience the ſweets of that trade; and it is probable they are not ignorant of our abilities to rival them, and every other nation, not only by carrying our productions cheaper to every market, but as carriers for other nations, if our veſſels could navigate with equal ſafety; and it is well known that one immediate effect would be the total ruin of their Newfoundland fiſheries and ſettlements.

Every man in the leaſt acquainted with trade, and of its importance to America, cannot but be convinced of the innumerable advantages ariſing from a permanent uninterrupted peace with all the powers on thoſe inhoſpitable Barbary ſhores; and as ſome of the moſt powerful Princes in Europe do now condeſcend, through policy, to pay an annual tribute to thoſe nations, it can be thought no diſgrace or degradation in the United States of America, in their preſent infant ſtate, to ſtoop to buy their friendſhip, which, though it ſhould coſt us dear, yet commercially conſidered, it can hardly be purchaſed too dear; nor can this important buſineſs be negociated too ſoon, or too ſecretly. And while this momentous object occupies the mind, it is impoſſible not to feel for the diſtreſſed ſituation of ſome of our fellow-citizens now in ſlavery in *Algiers*; their ſufferings, ſupplications, and paſt ſervices are loud, and will, I hope, prove irreſiſtible calls on the juſtice and humanity of their country.

With innumerable advantages peculiar to our country, and which may be ſaid in ſome reſpects *to hold all other nations dependent*, it is hoped that our trade will ſoon be relieved, and that we may e'er long make a more important and reſpectable figure in the commercial world. It is unneceſſary at this time to note all the preſent productions of the United States, with thoſe which might be tranſplanted with eaſe and advantage, and made capital articles of export; ſuffice it therefore only to enumerate ſome of the principal articles now in our poſſeſſion for uſe and exportation—Whale-fins and oil, ſpermaceti oil and candles, cod-fiſh and liver oil, lintſeed and lintſeed oil, pickled ſalmon, ſhad, mackrell, herrings, and other pickled fiſh, pot and pearl aſhes, beef, pork, butter, cheeſe, flax, hemp, maſts, timber, and all other kinds of wood or lumber, *with the almoſt excluſive poſſeſſion of that invaluable tree called the* LIVE OAK, which ſeems to have been ordained by Heaven for the ſole uſe of the American navy, as almoſt every attempt to tranſplant it to foreign countries has proved unſucceſsful. Tar, pitch, turpentine, roſin, bees and myrtle wax, tallow, ſilk, cotton, ſheeps wool, hides, ſkins, furrs, grain and pulſe of all kinds, hops, iron, ſaltpetre, ſaſſafras, ſarſaparilla, ginſang, ſnake-root, pink-root, with a great variety of other roots, abounding in South-Carolina and Georgia, that poſſeſs moſt aſtoniſhing medicinal virtues, and which would prove a moſt important and valuable acquiſition to the *Materia Medica*; tobacco,, rice, and indigo; yet with all theſe advantages, in almoſt all our commercial enterpriſes, our preſent portion is in general little more than fruitleſs toil, loſs, inſult, and contempt.

Hic vivimus ambitioſa
Paupertate omnes.——*Juv. Sat.*

As revenue is the main-ſpring, without which no power on earth can put the moſt perfect political machine in motion; ſo *Commerce*, ſituated and circumſtanced as we are, muſt be the principal ſource of revenue; but it cannot be expected that our dejected commerce can inſtantly revive, or that new projects, however wiſely planned, will immediately be ſufficiently productive to anſwer all the demands of Government: The fruits of commerce are neceſſarily progreſſive, and while we are waiting on her various operations, it will be both wiſe and neceſſary *to bear heavy burthens for a ſhort time*, and to ſtrain every nerve, in order to furniſh Government with ſufficient means to carry into effect thoſe prudent and ſalutary meaſures, on which the ſucceſs of our future hopes and proſpects muſt materially depend.

And as a ſtimulus to our immediate and ſtrenuous exertions, and punctual obedience to the revenue laws, in order that full ſcope and power may be given to Government to ſet every engine at work; let every citizen of the United States conſider, that abſtracted from the common benefits of a public revenue, which will ultimately be produced by a well regulated and flouriſhing *commerce*, there are other bleſſings flowing therefrom, which are neceſſarily diffuſive, and which conſtantly communicate a large portion of their happy influence and effects to every individual in the community.—*In great commercial States*, individuals of every rank are continually riſing from obſcurity into light, and from ſmall beginnings frequently become rich, and riches invariably carry with them a proportionate degree of influence, which cannot be gained by one, without taking away, or diminiſhing in ſome degree the influence of others; this continual rotation of property and influence naturally produces frequent rotations of civil officers, or rulers; the idle and abſurd dreams of the divine origin, or excluſive right of particular names, or families, to preference, or pre-eminence, which ſwayed the ſuperſtitious ſons of *Greece* and *Rome*, no longer bias or infatuate mankind; every man feels his own individual conſequence, and with a laudable emulation aſſerts his equal natural rights and pretenſions; detached from the narrow views and ſervile ideas of hereditary claims to public favors or honors; his enlarged mind is more nobly directed to the aggrandizement of his country; and he acknowledges no juſt claim but *merit*. Thus *Commerce* naturally tends to correct the evils common in States not commercial, where particular opulent families often enjoy, for many ſucceſſive generations, the excluſive poſſeſſion of riches; and though they do not always inherit the virtues or abilities by which their anceſtors juſtly acquired pre-eminence, yet they continue to poſſeſs excluſively, unjuſtly, and often by violence, every poſt of honor, profit and power in the State, and thereby hold every ſubordinate claſs of their fellow-citizens, or fellow-men, in a ſtate of abſolute dependence and ſervility—but *where Commerce flouriſhes*, ſuch a ſtate of vaſſalage cannot exiſt; no citizen is neceſſarily confined to a particular employer; he is always free to purſue his own inclination and intereſts; he can give ample ſcope to aſpiring genius; and is ſure to reap the juſt reward of his labour: Though he may be a ſervant, he cannot be a ſlave; and while he obeys the laws of his country, he may defy the power, *or the weakneſs* of any maſter.

Where Commerce flouriſhes, arts, agriculture, and manufactures will alſo flouriſh; the weak are protected; genius encouraged; revenue ſufficient; peace preferable, becauſe moſt profitable; the people quiet, becauſe conſtantly employed, and well paid; war amply equipt, and vigorouſly purſued when neceſſary; and Government liberally ſupported.

E. C.

(To be continued.)

"SALEM, May 19, 1789.

Extract of a letter from a gentleman in Congreſs to his friend in this town, May 11.

"Much will depend on gentlemen in the commercial line, for ſupporting the public meaſures. You juſtly obſerve, that an impoſt appears almoſt the only practicable method of raiſing monies, for the exigences of government. Therefore, if the duties are laid ſo low that they will fall far ſhort of thoſe exigences, in caſe the whole ſhould be collected, how is the deficiency to be ſupplied? The duties which have been agreed to by the Houſe of Repreſentatives, according to the higheſt eſtimate that has been made, will not much exceed two millions of dollars; and the ſupplies neceſſary for the current expenſes of the year and the annual intereſt of the national debt, will amount to about 2,800,000 dollars. One great object which the States had in view, in inſtituting the new government, was the advancement of juſtice, and ſupport of publick credit: If theſe objects are not attained, they will be diſappointed. The duties impoſed will be paid by the conſumers; ſo that the tax will not be borne by the merchants; they will conſider the duties as part of the prime coſt of the goods, and make their profits on that as well as on the purchaſe money. Nor do I think the burthen will be very ſenſibly felt by the people—the payment will be gradual, as they ſhall have occaſion to conſume the goods. The temptations to ſmuggle will not be ſo great as heretofore, in proportion to the amount of the duties: Under the Britiſh government, it was thought a virtue to evade payment in this country, becauſe they were unconſtitutionally impoſed, by Parliament. The duties that have been laid under the State governments were unequal, ſome States laying them higher than others, which was an embarraſſment to commerce—and the monies raiſed were only for the benefit of the State where they were collected—which operated inequitably when the goods were conſumed in other States: But now the duties will be equal in all the States; they will be laid by the Repreſentatives of the people, and be applied for the benefit of all, to ſupport the government which they have eſtabliſhed, and to pay the intereſt of the debt incurred for eſtabliſhing their liberties and independence. Theſe conſiderations, I truſt, will have ſufficient weight with every *honeſt* and *virtuous* citizen, to induce him cheerfully to pay the duties. Much attention has been paid to equalize them upon the ſeveral articles, ſo that the citizens of one State, or one branch of commerce, may not be burthened more than another. There has been conſiderable debate upon the article of *Molaſſes*; and it would doubtleſs have been rated lower, were not ſo great a proportion of it diſtilled into rum. As it affects the diſtilleries, it is ſuppoſed that that branch will be not burthened more than other branches, or the proportion between imported rum and N. England rum be much altered, and what alteration is made will be in favour of N. E. rum. I ſuppoſe the duty on molaſſes conſumed in ſubſtance ſhould have been about 4 cents per gallon, to make it equal to ſalt, in propotion to the value of each article. But molaſſes, tho' a very uſeful article, is not quite ſo neceſſary as ſalt; ſo that if the people reduce the conſumption of it one gallon in ſix, it will not coſt them more than if no duty had been laid on it; but if we conſider the extra duty above 4 cents, and leſſen the conſumption 1 gallon in 18, it will remedy the evil, and not leſſen the profit of the importer, for he will make his advance on the duty as well as on the prime coſt. The duties on articles imported from the Britiſh W. Indies will be only in Britiſh bottoms, and the importer muſt pay them in the firſt inſtance, and probably muſt bear a part of them ultimately. The importation of dutied articles will be from foreign countries, and conſequently in pretty large veſſels; ſo that the collection may be more eaſily ſecured than in ſmall boats and coaſting veſſels.

EXTRACTS.

[*As it muſt excite the attention of Farmers, and Country Traders, they being immediately intereſted, and the public good connected with it, we publiſh the following information (received from a gentleman lately returned from the Eaſtindies) reſpecting the ſale of Butter in that country.*]

From THOMAS'S MASSACHUSETTS SPY, &c.

LARGE quantities of Butter, exported from this State to the Eaſtindies were ſold as low as 4 coppers pr. lb. owing to the following errors, and inattention in putting up that article, viz.—not working out the buttermilk—putting large quantities of ſalt between the layers—ſalting it with coarſe dark unſuitable ſalt—not ſoaking the kegs with ſtrong brine before the Butter is put in, by which reaſon that next to the wood is much injured, ſome kegs made of ſappy unfit timber, and butter of different complexions put down indiſcriminately, which exceedingly injures the appearance.

It is of the utmoſt conſequence to have our Butter and Beef ſuperior in quality (as they ſoon will be in quantity) to that of Ireland, otherwiſe we ſhall be deprived of foreign markets, or when exported, muſt be ſold, as above, to a great loſs. If the following directions be attended to, they will ſoon eſtabliſh the reputation of our Butter, and raiſe its value.

Let the Butter be made while the milk or cream remain ſweet; the buttermilk entirely worked out; a quantity of clean, white, fine ſalt, ſufficient to keep it perfectly ſweet, worked into it; packed, without any ſalt between the layers, into kegs that will contain ſix or eight gallons, made of white oak timber, free from ſap, tight and full bound; let the kegs be well ſoaked with ſtrong brine, and then tarred, before the butter is packed; and endeavor to fill each keg, as near as poſſible, with butter of *one* complexion.

It would be beſt to have all Butter put up at the dairies, ſoon after it is churned and prepared for packing; but as a conſiderable part is carried in lumps to the country ſhopkeepers, and ſoon becomes rancid, if ſuffered to lay expoſed to the air in their ſhops (which is too frequently the caſe)—much therefore depends on their attention to pack it immediately, obſerving the above directions, and depoſiting it afterwards in cool cellars.

AN OLD SIMILIE EXAMINED.

"THE world has been long amuſed with a trite and hackuied compariſon between the life of man, and that of States; in which it is pretended that they both proceed in the ſame irrevocable manner; from infancy to maturity, from maturity to death: A compariſon, perhaps as groundleſs as it is common. The human body contains, in its very texture, the ſeeds of certain diſſolution. That is, though you ſet aſide all the poſſible accidents ariſing from intemperance, from the influence of the elements, the climate, and every other external and contingent cauſe, the human frame itſelf, after a certain period, would grow into rigidity; the fluids would decreaſe, the ſolids accumulate, the arteries *oſſify*, the blood ſtagnate, and the wheels of life ſtand ſtill.

But in ſocieties, of whatever kind, there ſeems no ſuch neceſſary or eſſential tendency to diſſolution. The human body is *naturally* mortal; the political, only ſo by *accident*: Internal diſorders or diſeaſes may ariſe; external violence may attack or overpower: but theſe cauſes, though always to be expected, are wholly incidental: the firſt is preciſely of the ſame nature as intemperance, the ſecond as the influence of the external elements, on the human body. But there appears nothing in the internal conſtruction of any ſtate, that tends inevitably to diſſolution, analogous to thoſe cauſes in the human frame, which lead to certain death.

This obſervation ſeems confirmed by hiſtory: where you ſee States, which, after being ſunk in corruption and debility, have been brought back to the vigor of their firſt principles: but you muſt have recourſe to Fables, for medicated old age, reſtored to infancy or youth."

ON THE USE OF TEA.

"TEA appears, from the beſt experiments, to produce ſedative effects upon the nerves, diminiſhing their energy, and the tone of the muſcular fibres, and inducing a conſiderable degree, both of ſenſibility and irritability, upon the whole ſyſtem. It alſo promotes the thinner evacuations very powerfully, and diminiſhes the fleſh and bulk of thoſe who uſe it. Theſe effects tend to impair the ſtrength, and promote the other conſequences of it upon the nervous ſyſtem above deſcribed. Hence the uſe of Tea has been found very agreeable to the ſtudious, eſpecially thoſe engaged in the compoſition of works of genius and imagination; and hence it is emphatically ſtiled the poet's friend. But, on the other hand, I believe that, at leaſt with us, it has had the effect of enfeebling and enervating the bodies of our people, and of introducing ſeveral diſorders that ariſe from laxity and debility; and has been ſtill of worſe conſequence in making way for the uſe of ſpirituous liquors, which are often taken to relieve that depreſſion which Tea occaſions.

"From theſe effects of Tea, I cannot but think that its conſequences on the whole, have been highly prejudicial. It evidently injures the health, and, by the conſequences laſt mentioned, tends to corrupt the morals of the people; and, in my opinion, by the effect it produces upon the nerves, contributes to abate courage, vigour, and ſteadineſs of mind; circumſtances ſurely of themſelves ſufficient to diſcredit its uſe, with thoſe who are engaged in any ſituation of life that requires exertion and reſolution. Perhaps, however, in the hot climates of China and India, the uſe of this liquor may not be ſo prejudicial as in the colder ones: It may there tend to abate the wearineſs occaſioned by heat, and, as a grateful dilutent, promote the thinner evacuations; which poſſibly may, by cauſing it to paſs off quickly, counteract, in ſome meaſure, its bad effects. But the noxious qualities of this plant are not unknown even in its native countries. The Japaneſe are ſubject to the diabetes, and to conſumptive diſorders, reſembling the atrophy, from its uſe; and the Chineſe, it is ſaid, are ſo ſenſible of theſe conſequences, that they rarely drink green tea at all, which is the moſt remarkable for theſe effects. Perhaps the diminutive ſtature, and cowardly, and at the ſame time acute and tricking diſpoſition of the Chineſe, may be owing, in no ſmall degree, to the uſe of this vegetable."

COFFEE.——A SCRAP.

"WHEN Coffee was firſt introduced among the Arabians, a ſcruple aroſe among the devout (perhaps from feeling its exhilirating quality) whether it was not forbidden by the Alchoran, under the article of wine. A council of Mahometan Divines was called upon the occaſion, who luckily decreed for the legality of its uſe.

ON THE ARRANGEMENT OF THE FEDERAL TREASURY.

[*The Obſervations contained in the following ſpeculation relate to ſo important a ſubject, as to juſtify their appearance in our paper, although publiſhed yeſterday in the Daily Advertiſer.*]

I believe it may ſafely be laid down as a maxim, that in proportion as obſcurity and uncertainty prevail in the adminiſtration of a government, it will be more or leſs corrupt, weak and deſpotic: But this obſervation is more particularly applicable to the management of the Finances of a State. To place our reliance, in affairs of this nature, on the innate probity of any man or body of men, would certainly argue a want of an accurate knowledge of the human character. It is pride, ambition, the dread of the loſs of reputation, and a variety of other ſelfiſh and intereſted motives, which impel the far greater part of mankind to a due performance of their duty. Nay, theſe motives not only deter us from doing wrong, but they are, in fact, the moſt powerful ſtimuli to

the vigorous exertions of every faculty. It is the great principle of responsibility on which we muſt chiefly depend. It is evidently, therefore, much ſafer to place a ſingle man at the head of this (and, indeed, of every other department) than to place it in the hands of a board.

In order to prevent the poſſibility of veiling in obſcurity the operations and true ſtate of the treaſury, I would ſuggeſt an organization ſomewhat on the following plan.

That the ſuperintendant of Finance ſhould have no agency whatever in the buſineſs of receipts and expenditures.

That there be a treaſurer-general, in the nature ſimply of a caſhier, whoſe buſineſs ſhould be confined ſolely to receipts and expenditures.

That all receipts at the treaſury be regiſtered in the auditor's office; from which office alſo ſhould iſſue all warrants for money.

That the auditor open diſtinct accounts for receipts and expenditures on the reſpective funds, which may have been appropriated by Congreſs to different purpoſes. Theſe accounts to be poſted up every day.

It is obvious, that by a ſyſtem of organization, on a plan ſimilar to the above, Congreſs would, at all times, be poſſeſſed of an exact and true knowledge of the real ſtate of the treaſury.

The ſuperintendant of finance, and indeed, the heads of all the great departments, ſhould be admitted to a ſeat in the houſe of repreſentatives, and in the ſenate; and to the privilege of delivering their ſentiments freely on all matters in debate relative to their reſpective departments. *New-York, May 23.*

SKETCH of PROCEEDINGS of CONGRESS.

In the HOUSE *of* REPRESENTATIVES *of the* UNITED STATES.

MONDAY, MAY 25, 1789.

This being the day aſſigned to take up the ſubject of Amendments—Mr. Madiſon obſerved, that various reaſons induced him to propoſe a diſtant day, when he gave notice that on the fourth Monday of May he ſhould move for the Houſe to go into a committee of the whole on this buſineſs—and as ſome of the reaſons ſtill exiſted, he would propoſe that the conſideration of Amendments, agreeably to the fifth article of the Conſtitution, be entered upon this day fortnight.

Mr. GOODHUE, agreeably to notice given on Wedneſday laſt, introduced a reſolution upon the ſubject of compenſation proper to be made to the reſpective branches of the Legiſlature—in which THE PRESIDENT, THE VICE-PRESIDENT, the Senate and Houſe of Repreſentatives, were ſeverally mentioned.

Mr. WHITE propoſed THE SPEAKER's name ſhould be inſerted.

Mr. PAGE propoſed that the reſolution ſhould be referred to the conſideration of the committee of the whole Houſe.

The Houſe accordingly voted itſelf into a committee of the whole, on the ſtate of the Union.

Mr. TRUMBULL in the chair.

Mr. GOODHUE's reſolution was then read;—the firſt article, reſpecting the compenſation to the Preſident, Mr. LAWRANCE propoſed ſhould be compleated by filling the blank with twenty-Five Thouſand Dollars. This would make the article read thus:—*Reſolved, That Twenty-Five Thouſand Dollars per annum, be the compenſation allowed* THE PRESIDENT, *during the time for which he is elected.*

Mr. LAWRANCE obſerved, that this ſum was not mentioned as the reſult of any accurate calculations, but merely for the conſideration of the committee.

A variety of obſervations were made upon this motion, which turned principally upon this point—whether the ſum to be voted on account of the Preſident, ſhould include the allowance for his Houſhold, Secretaries, &c.—or whether ſpecial proviſion ſhould be made for the latter purpoſes independent of the former.—No deciſion was made upon the ſubject—when the committe roſe.

Mr. CLYMER then moved, that a ſpecial committee ſhould now be appointed by the Houſe, to take this important buſineſs into conſideration—which was voted in the affirmative—and a committee appointed accordingly.

The report of the committee on the Jerſey elections, was then read, and acceded to.

Mr. WADSWORTH preſented the bill on tonnage—which was read for the firſt time.

Mr. FITZSIMONS introduced a petition from the ſhipwrights of Philadelphia. *Adjourned.*

TUESDAY, MAY 26.

The bill laying duties on tonnage was read the ſecond time.

On motion of Mr. WHITE, voted, That this bill be referred to the committee of the whole—and made the order of the day for to-morrow.

Mr. SCOTT gave notice, that on to-morrow he ſhould move for leave to bring in a bill, for the eſtabliſhing a land office, for the ſale of lands in the weſtern territory.

Mr. PAGE after ſome introductory obſervations, on the ineligibility of electing committees by ballot—moved, that ſo much of the rule of the Houſe which preſcribed that mode, ſhould be repealed.

Mr. WHITE propoſed, that all committees ſhould be appointed by the Speaker, except when the Houſe might order otherwiſe.

Mr. LAWRANCE moved, that a committee ſhould be appointed to determine on a mode.

Mr. LEE objected to the appointment of a committee, as there was at that moment no ſpecial buſineſs before them, he thought the preſent time the beſt to take the ſenſe of the Houſe.

Mr. LAWRANCE withdrew his motion.

Mr. SMITH propoſed an amendment to Mr. WHITE's motion by adding, unleſs five members call for a ballot.

Mr. PAGE was oppoſed to all balloting for committees—he thought the mode highly exceptionable, as it might be rendered ſubſervient to the purpoſes of intrigue—he hoped (he ſaid) never to ſee another committee choſen in that Houſe by ballot.

Mr. BURKE moved for a poſtponement of the motion, which being put, was carried in the affirmative.

Mr. SMITH of South-Carolina, gave notice, that on to-morrow he ſhould move for a committee to bring in a bill on the ſubject of bankruptcy.

Mr. SYLVESTER of the committee, appointed to confer with a committee of the Senate, on the ſubject of news-papers, and for receiving propoſals for performing the public printing, reported, by which it is propoſed, that the Secretary of the Senate and the Clerk of the Houſe, ſhould be empowered to make the neceſſary contract.

Adjourned.

From papers brought in the ſhip *Montgomery*, Capt. BUNYAN, from LONDON, we have obtained the ſubſequent

FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE,

WARSAW, *Feb.* 12. Count Staniſlaus Potocki's plan for raiſing ſome national cavalry was paſſed in the ſixth ſeſſion. This body will he compoſed of 30,000 men, each company of 150. It has been reſolved, that the Tartars who inhabit Lithunia ſhall be admitted into this corps, as they have (though Muſſelmen) always behaved like good citizens.

March 4. Letters from Moldavia and Wallachia adviſe, that the Turks are aſſembling on the frontiers in great bodies.

VIENNA, *Feb*, 28. They write from Trieſte, that the crew of a veſſel arrived there from the Archipelago, informed them, that a large ſhip, ſent by order of the Porte to Napoli, in the Morea, to procure corn, had been obliged to quit the coaſts of that peninſula, the inhabitants of which had riſen on account of the great want they were in of that article themſelves. Other circumſtances ſeem to confirm the ſcarcity of corn felt in many parts of Turkey; and the Governors of the Archipalago will meet with the greateſt difficulties in executing the orders they have received relative to furniſhing proviſions for the Ottoman armies in Servia and Boſnia.

PARIS, *March* 2. The Dutch demand of us the payment of 10,000,000 livres lent to the Americans under our guarantee; but we have a much larger account againſt them, which is the expenſe we were at in protecting their poſſeſſions in India.

HAGUE, *March* 17. On the 13th inſtant the Council of State pronounced he final ſentence againſt the famous Rhinegrave of Salm, and Col. Vanderborch, by which theiy are declared guilty of high treaſon, and baniſhed forever from the ſeven Provinces and the confines of the generality, under pain of death if found therein, beſides which they are to pay all coſts.

CONSTANTINOPLE, *Jan.* 21. A report has been circulated theſe few days paſt, that the Sublime Porte intended to reſtore liberty to the Ruſſian Ambaſſador, who languiſhes in confinement in the ſeven towers.

LONDON, *March* 27. The French Ambaſſador has juſt received letters from his court, in which their Moſt Chriſtian Majeſties expreſs their warmeſt congratulations upon the recovery of our Moſt Gracious Sovereign, and deſire that his Excellency will ſhow every poſſible reſpect and joy upon the enſuing occaſion; and that the expenſe may be no object of conſideration, they have ordered it to be placed to their Majeſties. On this information the Count de Luzerne waited upon lady Harcourt, and requeſted her ladyſhip to acquaint their Majeſties of the intention of his Court.

DOMESTIC ARTICLES.

PHILADELPHIA, May 23. Yeſterday Mrs. WASHINGTON arrived here from Mount-Vernon. This truly reſpectable perſonage was met by a number of the principal ladies and gentlemen of this city (among whom were the Preſident of the State, and the Speaker of the General Aſſembly) a little beyond Derby. At Gray's Ferry, ſhe partook of an elegant cold collation, and from thence was eſcorted to the reſidence of Mrs. (ROBERT) MORRIS, in Market-ſtreet, by the troops of light-horſe, commanded by Captains Miles and Bingham. Her arrival, which was about 2 o'clock P. M. was announced by the ringing of bells, and a diſcharge of thirteen guns from the park of artillery, under the direction of Captain Fiſher.

We hear that Mrs. WASHINGTON intends to favor her female friends in this city with her company till Monday morning, when ſhe will proceed to join her beloved and juſtly revered conſort at New-York, the PRESIDENT of the United States.

NEW-YORK, MAY 27, 1789,

A Correſpondent obſerves, that the diſpatch and harmony, with which the national repreſentatives adopted the outlines of principles, for regulating the great executive departments, is a favourable preſage, not only of wiſdom and unanimity in that Houſe, but alſo of energy and ſucceſs in the general adminiſtration of the government.—For it can hardly be doubted, that when there is a Union of ſentiment among ſo many enlightened and virtuous ſtateſmen, that the meaſures adopted, will in all reſpects be calculated to anſwer the end propoſed. The more we conſider that part of the reſolution, that gives the Preſident of the United States the ſole power of removing officers, without the proceſs of impeachment, the more reaſon have we to anticipate advantage from its operation; for ſetting aſide all expectations from the talents and virtues of the preſent ſupreme magiſtrate, there is in the natural reaſon of things, a preference in favour of that mode of removal.

Another Correſpondent obſerves, that the publication of the debates of Congreſs, has already begun to diffuſe national ideas; and that while it familiarizes the minds of the people to the new ſyſtem of government, it gradually diſſeminates principles of legiſlative wiſdom and integrity. Great advantages will be derived from having it in the power of the riſing patriots, and legiſlators of our country, to take up a ſyſtem of practical legiſlation from the beginning, and obſerve the regular gradations of a young nation growing into opulence, contentment and power.

Married on Thurſday the 14th inſt. at Shrewſbury, in New-Jerſey, the Rev. Jedidiah Morſe, *of Charleſtown, in Maſſachuſetts, to Miſs* Breeſe.

IMPROVEMENTS IN AGRICULTURE.

On Saturday laſt, General WASHINGTON went to ſee the curious agricultural improvements and newly-invented farming utenſils at the ſeat of the Baron POLNITZ, in the neighbourhood of this city. Among the former is the cultivation of madder, woad, and ſeveral kinds of artificial graſs. Among the latter are *Winlaw's* threſhing machine, ſeveral ploughs conſtructed for different purpoſes and many other inſtruments of huſbandry. The Baron Polnitz made experiments to ſhew the effects of different ploughs, ſome of which he held himſelf, for the ſake of giving more preciſion in the reſult. General Waſhington diſcovered great ſatisfaction in viewing the experiments, particularly of a machine made by the Baron Polnitz, for aſcertaining the exact force which muſt be applied to a plough, under any circumſtances, in drawing it through any kind of ſoil. The General was alſo ſo well convinced of the utility of the Horſe-Hoe, for weeding vegetables, &c. that he has ordered one to be made, upon the principle of the Baron's, for the purpoſe of ſending it to Mount-Vernon, in Virginia.

The Editor will endeavor to obtain a particular deſcription of the Horſe-Hoe for a future paper.

The hour of the Preſident's *Levee* having been altered from two to *three* o'clock, in order to accomodate official characters, yeſterday the company which attended it was uncommonly numerous and reſpectable.

The LADY of THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES is expected to arrive in this city, on Wedneſday or Thurſday of this week.

This morning at 5 o'clock, THE PRESIDENT ſet off in his barge, to meet Mrs. WASHINGTON at Elizabeth-Town Point.

A correſpondent, who was preſent when the Houſe of Repreſentatives of the United States was in committee of the whole, on the ſubject of a proviſion for THE PRESIDENT, &c. was pleaſed to find that no ideas could have been more juſt in regard to the actual and future circumſtances of the public, as well as to the prudence and dignity of the Supreme Magiſtrate, than thoſe which were expreſſed by the Hon. Mr. GERRY.

The great principles of religion, honor, and public ſpirit, are the only effectual checks to the encroachments of arbitrary power—the only permanent foundation for the perpetuating public freedom, and happineſs: Without theſe, government will not receive the ſteady and manly ſupport of the people; but torn by factions, reſulting from the want of honeſty, and a proper ſenſe of the bleſſings of liberty under equal laws, a government of force is the fatal conſequence.

Firſt impreſſions are generally allowed to be the ſtrongeſt.—How important then, that they ſhould be made and received under the influence of *right principles*—Upon all great public occaſions, the attention of the people ſhould be excited by the diſplays of wiſdom, judgment and an evident concern for their beſt intereſts, for impreſſions made when the faculties are on the ſtretch to learn, to wonder and admire, are more general and more laſting than thoſe received in the common courſe of events.—The late auguſt ſpectacle in the inauguration of THE PRESIDENT, followed by an addreſs, which comes ſo *feelingly home* to the boſom of every American, have made impreſſions which never can be effaced—and their happy effects will be realized by ages yet unborn.

"*Factions* and *feuds* may overturn a State,"
"Which UNION renders flouriſhing and great."

Want of principle is the common ſource of faction—The reigning adminiſtration, may at any time, denominate the oppoſition to their meaſures, a faction: but the diſcerning eye of the public generally makes a juſt diſcrimination between their real friends, and unprincipled demagogues.—It muſt be acknowledged, however, that when the body of the people become careleſs of their freedom and government, and pay no attention to either, but as the *words* may advance one party, and depreſs another, the way is prepared for a ſubverſion of the republic; and the change of a free conſtitution for any other, involves the loſs of freedom.

A general application to ſtudy—an inveſtigation of the great principles of legiſlation—the genius of our national conſtitution—its relations, dependencies; its intimate connection with thoſe of the ſeveral States—a general idea of the great commercial intereſt of the union as a nation—and a competent knowlege of thoſe of the individual governments—an acquaintance with hiſtory, the great examples it affords—a love to the maxims of a generous and upright policy—and decided patriotiſm, to inſpire a public confidence in his adminiſtrations—Theſe form ſome of the outlines of the character which we truſt is deſtined to preſide over the finances of the Union.

ARRIVALS.

PHILADELPHIA.

May 22,	Ship Pr. Wm. Henry, Codd, Barcelona,	46 days.
	Brig Walker, Clodd, Cadiz,	42 days.
	Schooner Tryal, Venneman, St. Thomas.	19 days.
	Sloop Adventure, Holmes, Virginia,	5 days.
May 23,	Sloop Pomona, Steel, St Croix,	20 days.
May 24,	Brig Charleſton, Garmen, Charleſton,	9 days.

NEW-YORK.

Saturday,	Sloop Cynthia, Bowell, St. Bartholomew,	14 days.
	Sloop Hawk, Parker, Turks-Iſland,	14 days.
Sunday,	Brig Aurora, Tweed, Liverpool,	56 days.
	Ship Montgomery, Bunyan, London,	58 days.
Monday,	Ship Hollief, Columbus, Cadiz,	53 days.
Tueſday,	Schooner N. Y. Packet, Barnard, Boſton,	3 days.
	Sloop Rambler, Peterſon, R. Iſland,	2 days.

Arrived at Boſton, the ſnow —— Capt. *Burroughs*, from the Iſle of France, in upwards of one hundred days paſſage.

Errata.—In the ſtory of Honeſtus and Conſtantia, for "communicate" read *commiſſerate*—and for "the unfeeling wound," read, the *inſulting wound.*

LETTER.

The RIGHT GOVERNMENT *of a* COMMONWEALTH EXAMINED.

[*Continued from our laſt.*]

Marchamont Nedham lays it down as a fundamental principle, and an undeniable rule, "that "the people, that is, ſuch as ſhall be ſucceſſively "choſen to repreſent the people, are the beſt "keepers of their own liberties, and that for "many reaſons: Firſt, becauſe they never think "of uſurping over other men's rights, but mind "which way to preſerve their own."

Our firſt attention ſhould be turned to the propoſition itſelf. "The people are the beſt keepers "of their own liberties." But who are the people? "Such as ſhall be ſucceſſively choſen to re "preſent them."—Here is a confuſion both of words and ideas, which, though it may paſs with the generality of readers in a fugitive pamphlet, or with a majority of auditors in a popular harangue, ought, for that very reaſon, to be as carefully avoided in politics as it is in philoſophy or mathematics. If by the people is meant the whole body of a great nation, it ſhould never be forgotten, that they can never act, conſult or reaſon together, becauſe they cannot march five hundred miles, nor ſpare the time, nor find a ſpace to meet; and therefore the propoſition, that they are the beſt keepers of their own liberties, is not true. They are the worſt conceivable; they are no keepers at all: They can neither act, judge, think, or will, as a body politic or corporation. If by the people is meant all the inhabitants of a ſingle city, they are not in a general aſſembly, at all times, the beſt keepers of their own liberties, nor perhaps at any time, unleſs you ſeparate from them the executive and judicial power, and temper their authority in legiſlation with the mature councils of the one and the few. If it is meant by the people, as our author explains himſelf, a repreſentative aſſembly, "ſuch as ſhall be "ſucceſſively choſen to repreſent the people," they are not ſtill the beſt keepers of the people's liberties, or their own, if you give them all the power, legiſlative, executive, and judicial: they would invade the liberties of the people, at leaſt the majority of them would invade the liberties of the minority, ſooner and oftener than an abſolute monarchy, ſuch as that of France, Spain, or Ruſſia, or than a well checked ariſtocracy, like Venice, Bern, or Holland. An excellent writer has ſaid, ſomewhat incautiouſly, that "a "people will never oppreſs themſelves, or invade "their own rights." This compliment, if applied to human nature, or to mankind, or to any nation or people in being or in memory, is more than has been merited. If it ſhould be admitted, that a people will not unanimouſly agree to oppreſs themſeves, it is as much as is ever, and more than is always, true. All kinds of experience ſhew, that greater numbers of individuals do oppreſs great numbers of other individuals; that parties often, if not always, oppreſs other parties; and majorities almoſt univerſally minorities. All that this obſervation can mean then, conſiſtently with any colour of fact, is, that the people will never unanimouſly agree to oppreſs themſelves: but if one party agrees to oppreſs another, or the majority the minority, the people ſtill oppreſs themſelves, for one part of them oppreſs another.—"The people never think of "uſurping over other men's rights." What can this mean? Does it mean that the people never *unanimouſly* think of uſurping over other men's rights? This would be trifling, for there would, by the ſuppoſition, be no other men's rights to uſurp. But if the people never jointly, nor ſeverally, think of uſurping the rights of others, what occaſion can there be for any government at all? Are there no robberies, burglaries, murders, adulteries, thefts, nor cheats? Is not every crime an uſurpation over other men's rights? Is not a great part, I will not ſay the greateſt part, of men detected every day in ſome diſpoſition or other, ſtronger or weaker, more or leſs, to uſurp over other men's rights? There are ſome few, indeed, whoſe whole lives and converſations ſhow, that in every thought, word, and action, they conſcientiouſly reſpect the rights of others: there is a larger body ſtill, who, in the general tenor of their thoughts and actions, diſcover ſimilar principles and feelings, yet frequently err. If we ſhould extend our candour ſo far as to own that the majority of men are generally under the dominion of benevolence and good intentions, yet it muſt be confeſſed that a vaſt majority frequently tranſgreſs; and, what is more directly to the point, not only a majority, but almoſt all, confine their benevolence to their families, relations, perſonal friends, pariſh, village, city, county, province, and that very few indeed extend it impartially to the whole community.—Now grant but this truth, and the queſtion is decided: If a majority are capable of preferring their own private intereſt, or that of their families, counties, and party, to that of the nation collectively, ſome proviſion muſt be made in the conſtitution, in favour of juſtice, to compel all to reſpect the common right, the public good, the univerſal law, in preference to all private and partial conſiderations.

The propoſition of our author then ſhould be reverſed, and it ſhould have been ſaid, that they mind ſo much their own, that they never think enough of others. Suppoſe a nation, rich and poor, high and low, ten millions in number, all aſſembled together; not more than one or two millions will have lands, houſes, or any perſonal property: If we take into the account the women and children, or even if we leave them out of the queſtion, a great majority of every nation is wholly deſtitute of property, except a ſmall quantity of clothes, and a few trifles of other moveables. Would Mr. Nedham be reſponſible that, if all were to be decided by a vote of the majority, the eight or nine millions who have no property, would not think of uſurping over the rights of the one or two millions who have? Property is ſurely a right of mankind as really as liberty. Perhaps, at firſt, prejudice, habit, ſhame, or fear, principle or religion, would reſtrain the poor from attacking the rich, and the idle from uſurping on the induſtrious; but the time would not be long before courage and enterprize would come, and pretexts be invented by degrees, to countenance the majority in dividing all the property among them, or at leaſt in ſharing it equally with its preſent poſſeſſors. Debts would be aboliſhed firſt; taxes laid heavy on the rich, and not at all on the others; and at laſt a downright equal diviſion of every thing be demanded, and voted. What would be the conſequence of this? The idle, the vicious, the intemperate, would ruſh into the utmoſt extravagance of debauchery, ſell and ſpend all their ſhare, and then demand a new diviſion of thoſe who purchaſed from them. The moment the idea is admitted into ſociety, that property is not as ſacred as the laws of God, and that there is not a force of law and public juſtice to protect it, anarchy and tyranny commence. If "THOU "SHALT NOT COVET," and "THOU SHALT NOT "STEAL," were not commandments of Heaven, they muſt be made inviolable precepts in every ſociety before it can be civilized or made free. If the firſt part of the propoſition, viz. that "the "people never think of uſurping over other "men's rights," cannot be admitted, is the ſecond, viz. that "they mind which way to pre"ſerve their own," better founded?—There is in every nation and people under Heaven a large proportion of perſons who take no rational and prudent precautions to preſerve what they have, much leſs to acquire more. Indolence is the natural character of man to ſuch a degree, that nothing but the neceſſities of hunger, thirſt, and other wants equally preſſing, can ſtimulate him to action, until education is introduced in civilized ſocieties, and the ſtrongeſt motives of ambition to excel in arts, trades, and profeſſions, are eſtabliſhed in the minds of all men: Until this emulation is introduced, the lazy ſavage holds property in too little eſtimation to give himſelf trouble for the preſervation or acquiſition of it. In ſocieties the moſt cultivated and poliſhed, vanity, faſhion, and folly, prevail over every thought of ways to preſerve their own: They ſeem rather chiefly to ſtudy what means of luxury, diſſipation and extravagance, they can invent to get rid of it. "The caſe is far otherwiſe among "Kings and grandees," ſays our author, "as all "nations in the world have felt to ſome purpoſe;" that is, in other words, Kings and grandees think of uſurping over other men's rights, but do not mind which way to preſerve their own. It is very eaſy to flatter the democratical portion of ſociety, by making ſuch diſtinctions between them and the monarchical and ariſtocratical; but flattery is as baſe an artifice, and as pernicious a vice, when offered to the people, as when given to the others. There is no reaſon to believe the one much honeſter or wiſer than the other; they are all of the ſame clay, their minds and bodies are alike. The two latter have more knowledge and ſagacity derived from education, and more advantages for acquiring wiſdom and virtue. As to uſurping others rights, they are all three equally guilty, when unlimited in power: No wiſe man will truſt either with an opportunity; and every judicious legiſlator will ſet all three to watch and controul each other. We may appeal to every page of hiſtory we have hitherto turned over, for proofs irrefragable, that the people, when they have been unchecked, have been as unjuſt, tyrannical, brutal, barbarous, and cruel, as any King or Senate poſſeſſed of uncontroulable power: The majority has eternally, and without one exception, uſurped over the rights of the minority. "They naturally "move," ſays Nedham, "within the circle of "domination, as in their proper centre." When writers on legiſlation have recourſe to poetry, their images may be beautiful, but they prove nothing. This however, has neither the merit of a brilliant figure, nor of a convincing argument: The populace, the rabble, the canaille, move as naturally in the circle of domination, whenever they dare, as the Nobles or a King; nay, although it may give pain, truth and experience force us to add that even the middling people, when uncontrouled, have moved in the ſame circle, and have not only tyrannized over all above and all below, but the majority among themſelves has tyrannized over the minority. "And count it no leſs ſecu"rity than wiſdom and policy, to brave it over "the people." Declamatory flouriſhes, although they may furniſh a mob with watch-words, afford no reaſonable conviction to the underſtanding. What is meant by braving it? In the hiſtory of Holland you will ſee the people braving it over the De Witts; and in that of Florence, Siena, Bologna, Piſtoia, and the reſt, over many others. "Cæſar, Craſſus, and another, made a contract "with each other, that nothing ſhould be done "without the concurrence of all three; *Societatem iniere, nequid ageretur in republica, quod diſpliciſſet ulli, e tribus.*" Nedham could not have ſelected a leſs fortunate example for his purpoſe, ſince there never was a more arrant creature of the people than Cæſar; no, not even Catiline, Wat Tyler, Maſſianello, or Shaſe. The people created Cæſar on the ruins of the Senate, and on purpoſe to uſurp over the rights of others. But this example, among innumerable others, is very appoſite for our purpoſe.

(To be continued.)

MISCELLANEOUS.

[*London.*] It is thought that Dr. WILLIS will not retire from town, as it is expected there may be great occaſion for his abilities for the relief of ſeveral members of the oppoſition, whoſe heads are not ſtrong enough to bear the ſhock cauſed by a late recovery.

Two bodies of French forces are expected to march into Flanders, orders having been received at Bruxelles to prepare barracks for them; they are to poſſeſs themſelves of the garriſons of Oſtend and Nieuport.

The Speaker applied to SIR JOSHUA to have his portrait drawn, adorned with the official robes, but expreſſed his fears at the difficulty which muſt ariſe in doing proper juſtice to the wig.—Sir Joſhua replied, "be not alarmed, Mr. Grenville, for I aſſure you there is *nothing* in *that*!"

THE FATE OF GENIUS.—Many a wiſe head, and many a worthy heart, are doomed to ache with the preſſure of human ſufferings, living in miſery, and dying in obſcurity and want, while the duller worms of mortality fatten on the marrow of proſperity, living to themſelves alone, with minds incapable of expanding, and forbidden by ſordid principles to do good and benefit mankind.—The following ſhort, but melancholly liſt, proves the juſtneſs of a remark which wounds ſenſibility:

Plautus turned a mill; Terence was a ſlave; Bœthius died in a gaol; Paolo Borghere had 14 different trades, yet ſtarved with them all; Taſſo was often diſtreſſed for five ſhillings; Bentivoglio was refuſed admiſſion into an hoſpital he had himſelf erected; Cervantes died of hunger; Camoens ended his days in an alms-houſe; and Vangelus left his body to the ſurgeons, to pay his debts, as far as it would go!

[*Pittſburg, Penn. May* 2.] Died on the 28th ult. THOMAS HUTCHINS, Eſq. formerly a Captain in the Britiſh army, and late Geographer General to the United States. His illneſs had been of ſome months continuance. It was not ſuch as to give him great pain, being a gradual failing of the nerves, and an almoſt inſenſible waſte of the conſtitution. He was in a country where he had been early known, and to which he had a particular attachment; in the houſe of his particular friend, John Ormſby. He was daily viſited during his indiſpoſition by those of this place, and by gentlemen occaſionally reſident or paſſing through from different parts of the continent. His funeral was attended by a conſiderable concourſe of people, and the ſervice read at his obſequies, by Mr. Heckenwelder, a Moravian clergyman, accidentally preſent, and who had long known the deceaſed.

His merit is well known; a man greatly amiable; and integrity his predominant quality.—He gave a proof of this which few have it in their power to give, viz. relinquiſhing his commiſſion, worth 1500l. for the ſake of America, his native country, and lying ſome time in irons before he was able to make his eſcape from the dungeon in England.

His map early laid the foundation of American geography, and his ſervices ſince his appointment under the United States, have been univerſally acknowledged.

He has meaſured much earth, but a ſmall ſpace now contains him.

By a gentleman who arrived here a few days ago from Sanduſky, we are informed, that news was brought there before he left it, of five parties of Indians, of different tribes, preparing to go to war; it is ſaid they intend for the frontiers of Kentucky and the Ohio, to watch for boats coming down that river. This information, we hope, will ſhew the neceſſity to thoſe going down the river, of being well prepared, as much danger is undoubtedly to be apprehended.

☞ *Complete ſetts from the beginning, of the* GAZETTE OF THE UNITED STATES, *may at any time be obtained by thoſe who chuſe to ſubſcribe for that publication, at the Editor's Office, No.* 9, *Maiden-Lane.*

Publiſhed by JOHN FENNO, No. 9, MAIDEN-LANE, near the OSWEGO-MARKET, NEW-YORK.